Orientals in the U.S 1927

The Pacific Coast

AND

The New Oriental Policy

A REPORT

TO

The Commission on Relations with Japan

OF

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

BY

REV. SIDNEY L. GULICK

105 East 22nd Street
New York City

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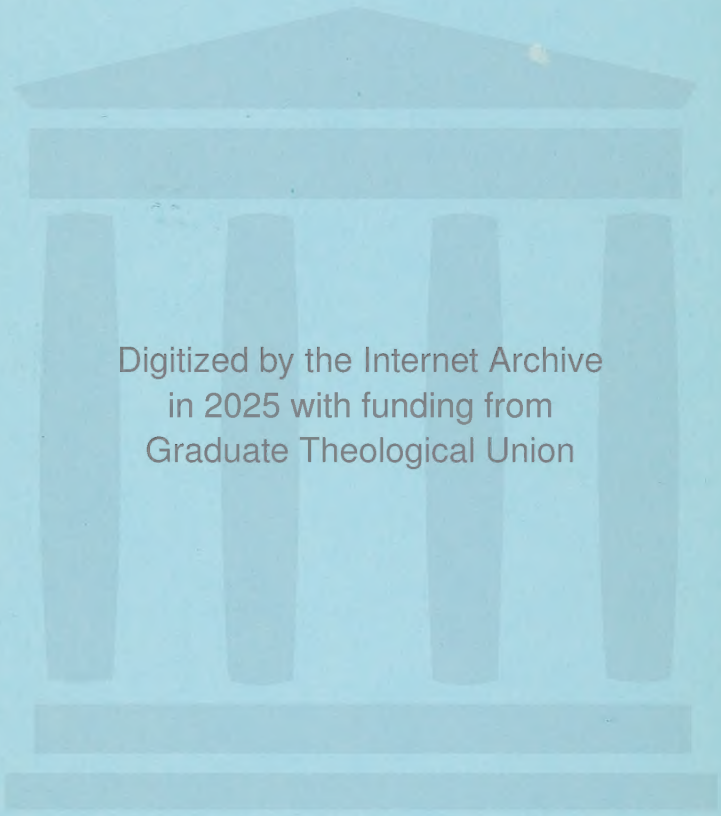
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TO THE COMMISSION ON RELATIONS WITH JAPAN OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

Dear Brethren:

In response to the invitation from the Committee on International Relations of the California State Federation of Churches, acceptance of which invitation you recommended, I went to the Pacific Coast July, 1915 and remained there until the middle of December. I now take pleasure in presenting you herewith the report in brief outlines of what was done.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) SIDNEY L. GULICK.

March 15, 1916.
New York City.

STATEMENT

by the

PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY

of the

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America can have no political platform and cannot in any sense engage in politics. As representing the religious attitude of mind of the Protestant churches of the country, it is, however, endeavoring to make plain the fact that nothing in human life is free from Christian principles. International relations as truly as individual relations are of religious importance.

Because of its conviction that one means of building up permanent peace is the establishment of Christian sympathy and Christian understanding, the Federal Council has planned closer relations with the Christians of various countries for the purpose of cooperation in the application of principles of Christianity to the relations of nations.

As a part of this general plan representatives of the Council are in constant communication with representatives of the Christian bodies of Europe. The General Secretary of the Council, Dr. Charles S. Macfarland, has recently returned from a personal visit to the leaders of Protestant churches in Holland, Germany, Switzerland, France and Great Britain.

In pursuance of this policy for the promotion of right international relations, the Federal Council has established a movement to deal with the entire question of the responsibility and work of the churches for the relief of sufferers from the war. As occasion may arise other special commissions will be established to deal with special international problems.

When the diplomatic relations between America and Japan became somewhat disturbed more than two years ago the Federal Council, in response to an appeal from missionaries in Japan, deemed it wise to establish the Commission on Relations with Japan.

A year ago the Council sent an Embassy to carry its Christian good-will to the Christians of Japan, and through them to the Japanese people. This Embassy was given every opportunity to express the American attitude of mind to the Japanese people. The interest in its message and mission was uniformly great on the part of the Christian churches, the people, the educated classes and the government. It was universally felt and expressed that the time had come for the emphasis of Christian principles in the specific relations which exist between the United States and Japan.

But the matter obviously cannot rest in general principles. Christianity must express itself in concrete pro-

grams. We not only wish to give justice, but we wish to know how justice is to be given. To this end the Embassy to Japan, in a long series of conferences and in correspondence obtained the general attitude of mind of leaders of Japanese thought as to a proposed general policy governing immigration into the United States.

This policy is set forth in detail in a pamphlet by Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, entitled "A Comprehensive Immigration Policy and Program." This policy is an attempt to find some practical way of bringing Christian principles to bear, not only upon relations between America and Japan, but between America and all countries from which immigrants are likely to come.

This proposal is acceptable to Japanese leaders. Adequate proof of this is in the hands of the Commission.

The question, of course, arises whether such a policy would be acceptable to California and other coast states where the tension due to Japanese immigration has been somewhat pronounced. This attitude can now be seen from the letters and actions of leading citizens and bodies on the Pacific Coast presented in the following report.

It will be, of course, understood that in the various proposals which are set forth by Mr. Gulick and others who approve them are published rather than officially adopted by the Federal Council which is concerned only with the general ethical principles involved. As a Council it expresses no opinion regarding the advisability or the possibility of any of the plans suggested by the various participants in the discussion. It circulates them simply as proposals worthy of thoughtful attention by Christian citizens.

(Signed) SHAILER MATHEWS
CHARLES S. MACFARLAND

March 30, 1916.
New York City.

RESOLUTION BY THE COMMISSION ON RELATIONS WITH JAPAN of the FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

RESOLVED by the Commission on Relations with Japan;

First, that we authorize the publication of the Report of our special representative, Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, in regard to his work on the Pacific Coast during the autumn of 1915, and request the Executive Committee to make provision, if possible, for its wide circulation. We desire to place the information herein contained before our entire constituency for such help as it may afford in forming an intelligent opinion upon the important problem as to how we may incorporate in our relations with Japan the Christian principles of human brotherhood and good neighborliness.

Second, that we request the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to take such action as may seem wise to bring the report effectively before our constituent bodies.

Charles R. Brown
William I. Haven
E. R. Hendrix
Hamilton Holt
Jeremiah W. Jenks
Albert G. Lawson
Frederick Lynch
Francis J. McConnell
John R. Mott
Frank Mason North
Doremus Scudder
Robert E. Speer
George E. Vincent
Amos P. Wilder
Sidney L. Gulick

Charles S. Macfarland, Secretary,
Commission on Relations with Japan.

RESOLUTION BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE of the FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

RESOLVED by the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America that the following statement be issued to the members of the Constituent Bodies of the Federal Council.

Two years have now elapsed since the appointment by the Federal Council of its Commission on Relations with Japan, which action, it will be remembered, was taken in response to a memorial from American missionaries in Japan. A notable work has been done by this Commission not only in Japan itself through the sending of our Christian Embassy to that land a year ago, but also by the wide campaigns both before and after that Embassy, of our special representative, Rev. Sidney L. Gulick. Although much has been accomplished, much still remains to be done. We earnestly invite the serious attention of our entire constituency to the moral questions and the questions of Christian principle involved in the relationship of the United States with both China and Japan. These questions cannot be solved by diplomacy alone. They can be solved only by national application of the Golden Rule to our relations with these lands. While the Federal Council is concerned solely with the Christian principles involved and can assume no responsibility for specific legislative proposals, we urge, nevertheless, upon the leaders and the membership of our constituent bodies as Christian citizens the careful study of the proposals for comprehensive immigration legislation that have been worked out by Dr. Gulick, and also of any similar proposals looking to the solution of these problems in a way thoroughly honorable to the peoples concerned.

We regard it as of the highest importance in maintaining right relations through the coming decades with Japan and China that the United States shall pursue an Oriental Policy, the fundamental principles of which shall be the just

and equitable treatment of all races. To this end we suggest that Christian citizens in all parts of America urge their representatives in Congress to take up at an early date the entire immigration question and provide for comprehensive legislation, free from race discrimination, covering all phases of the question (such as the limitation of all immigration and the registration, distribution, employment, education, and naturalization of immigrants), in such a way as to conserve American institutions, to protect American labor from dangerous economic competition and to promote an intelligent and enduring friendliness among the people of all nations.

John M. Glenn
Howard B. Grose
William I. Haven
Finis S. Idleman
Alfred R. Kimball
Albert G. Lawson
J. Edgar Leaycraft
Rivington D. Lord
Shailer Mathews
Rufus W. Miller
John R. Mott
Frank Mason North
E. E. Olcott
William H. Roberts
Alexander Walters

FOREWORD

Shortly after the return from Japan (March 30, 1914) of Dr. Shailer Mathews and the writer, the Federal Council Christian Embassy to that land, we were invited by the Commission on International Relations of the California State Federation of Churches to undertake in California a campaign of education on the Oriental problem. Dr. Mathews, unfortunately, was unable to comply. The writer, however, responding to the invitation and in compliance with your own recommendation to that effect, visited nearly all of the important centers, not only preaching in the churches, but also addressing important groups of business men, women's clubs and ministerial gatherings, and meeting not a few of the leaders of organized labor.

In California the addresses delivered numbered 94 all told, while in Oregon and Washington they numbered 74. Although I made San Francisco my headquarters, three trips were made to Los Angeles and San Diego, and two to Seattle and the State of Washington. The final trip through Oregon and Washington occupied three weeks, closing December 14 at Walla Walla.

THE VISIT TO CALIFORNIA OF LABOR REPRESENTATIVES FROM JAPAN

On July 6, Messrs. Suzuki and Yoshimatsu, landed in San Francisco. They came representing, as fraternal delegates, the laborers of Japan. While in Japan in February the writer had several conferences with representatives of organized labor, and with others whereby the coming of these delegates was finally arranged. Mr. Paul Scharrenberg, Secretary of the California State Federation of Labor, to whom the initial suggestion for their coming is to be credited, rendered valuable aid in making their visit to California a success. I met them upon their arrival and introduced them to Mr. Scharrenberg. After satisfying himself as to their credentials and character, he introduced them to representatives of organized labor and secured for them seats as fraternal delegates in the annual meeting at Santa Rosa of the California State Federation of Labor. Mr. Suzuki's addresses at that annual meeting, as well as before various Central Labor Councils of cities in California, and especially

before the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor (San Francisco, November 8-20) won him many friends and overcame no little suspicion and opposition.

The friendly reception accorded to the Japanese delegates is not, however, to be interpreted as in any way indicating a lessening of opposition to Japanese immigration on the part of organized labor. It indicates rather a clearing up of the issue, helping to remove its race character and making it more evidently an economic problem. This indeed was the clear utterance of many of the addresses made by representatives of organized labor introducing the "brother from Japan."

Mr. Suzuki himself was careful to make clear that his visit had nothing to do with the immigration question. He came "in order to learn the best methods of organized labor in America." He appealed to labor in the United States for sympathy and aid for the labor movement in Japan. His assertion of the identity of labor's problems and interests in Japan and America elicited repeated applause.

The San Francisco Labor Clarion has recently published (February, 1916) correspondence that took place last October between Senator James D. Phelan of California and Secretary Paul Scharrenberg of the California State Federation of Labor. Senator Phelan criticised the reception accorded the Japanese delegates by the California Federation of Labor.

> "I wish," he writes, "to respectfully call attention to the fact that anything which weakens the hands of your representatives in Washington weakens the cause in which we are all concerned—the prevention of the displacement of the white population of California by the Japanese. * * * If * * * it may appear that our workingmen are not sincere in their opposition and have been won over to the 'brotherhood of man' sentimentality skilfully preached by Japanese proponants and carried on in various forms by the Japanese propaganda in this country, then Washington may be confronted with the serious problem which for the time being is held in abeyance by the 'Gentlemen's Agreement' existing between the United States and Japan."

To this letter Secretary Scharrenberg promptly replied, showing that the Japanese delegates had been seated in the State Convention only after due examination of their purposes and credentials. He states that the Japanese delegates

> "came to America to learn something about our working class movement, our methods of organization, and, if possible, to use the knowledge thus acquired to improve the conditions of working people in Japan." They were accordingly "received and extended every courtesy by the labor organizations of California, * * * It is entirely clear that the kindness and courtesy toward our visitors should not be construed to mean a weakening in Labor's demand for the exclusion of all Asiatic laborers from our shores."

THE MAIN EMPHASIS

The major part of my time, however, from July to December was consumed in efforts to explain to individuals and to groups the nature of the policy and program by which the pending problem between the United States and Japan may be solved.

In general the policy seeks to provide for protection for the Pacific Coast states from swamping or even large Asiatic immigration which protection they justly demand, and also to provide for Japan's earnest plea that there shall be no discriminating and humiliating race discriminatory legislation.[1]

In addition to describing in my addresses so far as the time limitations allowed, the main feature of the proposed policy, I usually left with those interested copies of two pamphlets entitled "Asia's Appeal to America" and "The American Japanese Problem."

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[1]The full statement of this proposal is given in the American Japanese problem, Chapter XVII (Scribners). A more recent statement is available in a pamphlet entitled "A Comprehensive Immigration Policy and Program" (105 East 22d Street, New York). In briefest terms the proposal is that all immigration should be restricted and that the principle of restriction should be proven capacity to enter wholesomely into our life. The law would read that the number of male aliens fourteen years of age and over to be admitted annually as immigrants from any race or people should be a definite percent (say five) of the sum of the American born children of that people plus the naturalized citizens of the same people.

This principle would not restrict present immigration from North Europe; it would restrict it somewhat from South and East Europe; while the amount that would be admitted annually from Japan and China would be about 1,200 and 1,100 respectively, being less than is now admitted annually from those lands.

In addition, however, to restriction, provision should also be made for the rapid and wholesome incorporation into our life and institutions of those whom we do admit for permanent residence here. For this we need Federal Bureaus of Registration and of Education; we should also adjust our laws whereby privileges of citizenship should be given to all who qualify regardless of race. These provisions—the percentage method for numerical limitation of immigration and the giving of citizenship to all who qualify —would completely solve the American Asiatic problem, for it would thoroughly protect the Pacific Coast States from large immigration and it would also remove the race differential legislation which is so keenly resented by Japanese and Chinese.

So far as I was able to judge, all the audiences to which the above policy and program were presented with any degree of fulness were favorably impressed. No audience, however, was asked to give on the spot any expression of its judgment.

Since, however, it is needful that leaders of national life should give the policy and program serious consideration, from the middle of October and onward I sought by letter and personal conversation to secure definite expressions of opinion. This effort brought a goodly number of personal letters and resolutions from those who may well be regarded as representatives of the responsible citizenship of the Pacific Coast.

EXCERPTS FROM LETTERS[1]

1. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER

President of the University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

"I have always looked to your plan of proportional immigration as involving the possibility of a fortunate solution for the much vexed question of Oriental immigration. It meets the main factors of the situation. Our objection to wholesale immigration is that the opposite shores of the Pacific Ocean, now that civilization has made its westward circuit of the globe, represent the most widely different economic standards in regard to living and the remuneration of toil. To allow these two opposite communities to mix with absolute freedom would mean that we should annul at a stroke the differentiations of centuries. Our objections to immigration are not racial, but industrial and economic. I cannot at this date and with this present light see why your plan should not work. It cancels out the violent and brittle features of absolute exclusion, and appeals to gradualness. Gradualness is what we want. We are only contending for reasonable time."

2. LEROY A. WRIGHT

Member of California State Senate (1906-1912), San Diego, Cal.

"I have examined very carefully your plan of proportional immigration. I am pleased to say that in my opinion it contains the proper basis of settling a perplexing question which has in the past and may in the future vex our relations with foreign nations.

"Whether the percentage suggested in your plan is the correct one, and whether it will have to be altered from time to time must be determined by the circumstances. The question of the rate, however, does not affect the principle. I am satisfied that you have arrived at the correct principle for a solution of the problem, and I sincerely trust that the men and women of this country who have time to think, and the ability to think rightly on such questions, will cooperate with you to the fullest extent. Had your plan been adopted there would have been no friction in 1907 and the years that followed, between the United States and Japan.

"If I can be of any service to you in advancing the good work which you have undertaken, I beg to assure you that it will give me great pleasure."

[1]In the chronological order of their receipt.

3. WARREN OLNEY, JR.

Attorney and Counselor at Law, San Francisco, Cal.

"Replying to your letter of yesterday I would say that it seems to me that your suggestion that this country should have a comprehensive immigration law, whereby all immigration should be limited to a definite per cent (you suggest five) annually from each foreign country of those already naturalized from that country with American born children, would go very far toward solving one of the difficult problems which confront this country. If our institutions are to be preserved, and the social and economic welfare of the great portion of our people is to be protected, we must Americanize the immigrants coming to us from foreign lands, Americanize them both so that they have an understanding and appreciation of our institutions and what free government means, and also so that their standards of living are as high as our own. We cannot do this if we are constantly to receive the large numbers which have heretofore come to us. Absolute exclusion is out of the question. We cannot solve the problem by discriminating, allowing free immigration from one country and not from another. We have already tried that in a small degree with the Chinese and Japanese and it has brought about ill feeling and danger of racial conflict. It is not practicable to go further along this line and pass laws discriminating between immigrants from the various parts of Europe. The measure suggested by you seems to meet the situation. It puts a limit on the amount of immigration so that the numbers coming in yearly will not be too great to prevent their being Americanized. It will not be discriminatory in an obnoxious way as between the immigrants from different countries. On the other hand it will permit the larger number of immigrants to come from those countries from which we have already drawn the bulk of our people and whose peoples most readily adapt themselves to our institutions and our standards of living.

"The further suggestions which you make as to the creation of a bureau of registration, the creation of a bureau of education, etc., are in the nature of details for more effectively carrying on the work of Americanizing the immigrants when they are once here. They seem to me good. Certainly there is need of something more being done in this direction than is being done at present. But, after all, these are details. The main point in your plan is that of limiting immigration, but not absolutely prohibiting it, and of doing so in a manner which, with-

out discrimination, will yet give us the class of immigrants which we desire and which we can best amalgamate with our own people. It seems to me that your suggestion will accomplish this."

4. JESSE F. MILLSPAUGH

President California State Normal School, Los Angeles, Cal.

"At a meeting of the faculty of this school, held on Wednesday, October 20th, by unanimous vote, the following communication was ordered addressed to you:

"The students and faculty of this school on Monday last heard your address on 'The New Orient and America's New Oriental Policy' with deepest interest and appreciation. The presentation by you of the historical background of present social and political conditions in the East was most illuminating and instructive and furnished a sound basis for the constructive program which you so convincingly advocate.

"As a body of teachers we wish to express our interest in your proposal regarding immigration, and to the extent that we have had opportunity to consider it and understand it, we as cordially declare our approval of the general policy which you urge as productive of better international feeling and as promising a larger measure of international justice, without compromise of our own national or local interests."

5. C. F. MICHAELS

Wholesale Druggist, San Francisco, Cal.

"There can be no doubt but what our immigration laws need a general revision, not only that the immigration itself may be properly restricted, but that some control over the immigrant before he becomes a citizen may be exercised. The suggestions along the lines offered by you are extremely interesting, and they seem to me to offer a basis for the working out of laws which would solve the problem and at the same time be equitable to all foreign nations."

6. F. J. KOSTER

President California Barrel Company, San Francisco, Cal.

"As a result of the several opportunities I have had of hearing you upon the subject, and particularly after hearing Baron Shibusawa, I am convinced that your plan is feasible.

7. THEODORE JOHNSON

Secretary Law and Legislative Committee of the San Francisco Labor Council, San Francisco, Cal.

"Regretting my inability to concur in all the proposals you advance for the settling of the questions between the American government and the nations of Asia, I desire to take advantage of your request to counsel and aid you in your work for improving the relations between Japan and the United States.

"While your proposals were before the Legislative Committee of the Labor Council, I was impressed by the fact that nearly all the members of that committee considered your claim that immigrant Asiatics should be entitled to the same legal privileges as immigrants of other foreign nations, to be justified, and therefore held it proper to permit Asiatics both to hold land and become citizens of the United States.

"I think by devoting your efforts to secure civic and political equality for admitted aliens of all nations, you will prepare the way for a better immigration in this country. As we agree to the proposition that our objection to Asiatics is founded on economic reasons alone, it is evident that only by the removal of these economic objections by the institution of economic remedies, will it be possible to adopt a policy permitting Asiatics to be admitted on the same terms as aliens of other nations. Economic competition is also responsible for endeavors to further restrict European immigration."

8. REV. EDWARD L. PARSONS

Rector St. Marks Rectory, Berkeley, Cal.

"It gives me great pleasure to respond to your letter of the 23d. Some months ago I read one of the pamphlets which has just come to me, containing your admirable discussion of the country's immigration problem. I have now been over the matter again.

"Many of us have been faced for a long time with a difficult problem in this whole matter. Long residence in California has enabled us to enter into the California feeling in regard to Asiatic immigration. We have understood and sympathized with the industrial and social grounds for action which has nevertheless seemed to be in conflict with the dictates of the nobler Christian ideals of international relationship. We have been searching about for some practical solution of the problem

thus created, and I for one felt that such had been suggested in principle when I first read your plan of percentage limitation of immigration. So far as I can see, it is worth while and workable. It should meet the serious needs of the nation as a whole as well as the more special needs of the Pacific Coast, and it should accomplish these ends while leaving open to us the cultivation of closer relations with the other nations of the world whatever their race or social condition."

9. W. M. ALEXANDER

Shipping and Commission Merchant, San Francisco, and Honolulu.

"Briefly, my first feeling, when I heard of your plan of proportional immigration, was that the "nail had been struck on the head." Your plan meets the problem of limiting oriental immigration to this country in a way that decreases the amount of oriental immigration to a minimum, and at the same time does not do any injury to the sensitive feelings of our neighbors across the Pacific.

"A short time ago I was fearful of serious misunderstandings arising on account of the East Indians coming to the Pacific Coast. Your plan would meet this situation most successfully. Of course, I view all these questions more or less from the standpoint of one interested in the Hawaiian Islands, and it would seem to me, that while your plan solves the problem of immigration as regards the mainland of our country, it does not fit Hawaii, and some special legislation will be necessary as regards this outpost in the Pacific.

"I thoroughly agree with you that eligibility to American citizenship should be based upon personal qualifications; if we are going to build up a nation with the right kind of people, and become such a melting pot as Mr. Zangwill gives us a vision of in his strong play, then I think we have got to bring ourselves to feel the fact that race should be neither a qualification nor a disqualification to American citizenship. However, in our present state of growth, I am very doubtful if such a situation could be brought about for many years to come, possibly not in our day and generation, and, therefore, I feel that the "strong pedal" should be put on your proposition of proportional immigration."

10. JAMES W. MULLEN

Editor Labor Clarion, San Francisco, Cal.

"I have received your letter of October 23d and note your request. In reply permit me to say that,

while I am personally in accord with the principles involved in your immigration proposals, I have not been able to convince the labor movement of this city of the advisability of altering our present scheme of things and adopting some such plan as you propose. You can, therefore, understand that while I can continue my agitations within the labor movement for a change in policy, in my official capacity I am bound by the will of the majority and cannot give official approval to your plan."

11. GEORGE M. STRATTON

Professor of Psychology, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

"May I express my high appreciation of your effort to improve the relations between America and the Orient. These relations must not be allowed merely to drift, nor can we throw upon the countries across the Pacific the sole responsibility for seeing that all is well.

"The sources of irritation, and indeed of grave danger, would, I believe be greatly lessened if the interests of all aliens in our country were placed under the exclusive care of the Federal Government. The honor and the peace of the entire nation should not, as at present, be at the mercy of local interest and local emotion. Furthermore, a uniform method of controlling immigration is highly desirable, and your own plan seems to me to offer a safe practical way of dealing with this very difficult problem.

"As to the naturalization of foreigners; with a suitable control of immigration, I can see nothing but wisdom in bestowing citizenship upon all those who will prepare themselves to receive it. This privilege should be bestowed or withheld solely by reason of personal qualities, and never merely by reason of race. Otherwise we give endless occasion for injustice and resentment, and international friction is needlessly increased."

12. FRANCIS B. LOOMIS

Editor Oakland Tribune, Oakland, Cal.

"I have always been interested in your plan of proportional immigration. It seems to me that if it can be properly worked out that it contains a very hopeful possibility for settlement of the immigration question, so far as it relates to the Orient. I think it should have very careful consideration. I think no one can object to the fundamental principle providing for immigration without discrimination; and it makes ample provision for gradual assimilation of

those who come to this country from abroad to take up their residence here. I think discussion ought to be limited on issues involved in this point for the present at least.

"The time is not distant when our immigration laws will have to be considerably revised, and I hope when the revision takes place your suggestion will have been thoroughly presented to the thinking people of this country."

13. ROBERT DOLLAR

President The Robert Dollar Company, San Francisco, Cal.

"I have carefully read the two pamphlets and find they are in accord with the views that I have long held on the subject of fair treatment to Chinese and Japanese. There is no question in my mind that if we continue our adverse legislation to the Japanese, we are sure to get into a war that will be disastrous to both nations. Americans must be taught that Japanese in this country must be treated as our treaty calls for: 'The most favored nation clause'. Trouble is ahead if we don't.

"With the Chinese it is different; they have neither an army or navy, but as soon as they get both we will hear from them also. In the meantime, we have everything to gain and nothing to lose by dealing honorably and justly by both nations."

14. C. A. KOFOID

Professor in the Department of Zoology, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

"The proposal to regulate the influx of alien peoples from all nations impartially on the basis of proportional immigration recommends itself because of its impartiality, thus doing away with discrimination on account of race, or nationality, because of its simplicity which will facilitate its operation, and because of its practicality. It will make possible those industrial, economic, social, and biological adjustments of peoples of widely different origin, history, and ideals which must be made, and can only be made gradually, if we are to save the American civilization from being rent asunder. The incorporation of other peoples into our body politic with adequate time for their assimilation will thus be facilitated. The ease and cheapness of transportation today and the rapidity and pervasiveness of our modern systems for the transfer of information have doomed the policy of isolation, therefore

we must meet this problem of the invasion by other peoples by just and wise legislation. Proportional immigration is a move in this direction.

"The second proposal for full citizenship for all who qualify is one involving both international and domestic policies to such an extent as to require fuller statement for its proper consideration. Nationalism has brought with it the curse of militarism of our age. A wider basis for a citizenship that will foster friendships with other peoples without weakening our own unity and efficiency is desirable but political action in this direction should be taken with caution, till some adequate scientific study can be made of the results of racial admixture on the next generation."

15. GEORGE I. COCHRAN

President Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Co., Los Angeles, Cal.

"Since your call the other day I have read with much interest the 'Addresses on the American Japanese Problem' which you left with me, and I wish to say that after reading them over and reflecting upon them, I am very much in favor of the method you suggest for solving this problem.

"The Japanese question is full of interest to the United States, and especially to the people on this Coast, and the sooner it can be solved the better it will be for all of us. The Japanese nation has become a world-wide power, and in these days of speedy communication, is our nearest neighbor, and it is essentially necessary to our well being, as well as to our prosperity, to live on good terms with them. I spent some five years in Japan, and I know something of the Japanese and have a sincere admiration for their intelligence and many good qualities, and I see no reason why our relations with them should not be of the best.

"While I am strongly in favor of maintaining California for our own people, yet I feel that this object can be attained better under your plan than under any other I have yet heard of. On the other hand, I feel that a limited number of Japanese citizens living in California would be of material benefit to the agricultural and the other interests of our State. One feature of your plan which appeals to me very strongly is the feature of regulation. Foreigners coming to this country with the idea of becoming citizens would, as I understand it, be registered immediately on their arrival, and would be under federal supervision during the five probationary years, and this would be conducive to their good behavior and also enable the country to get rid of undesirable citizens."

16. REV. F. L. GOODSPEED

Pastor First Presbyterian Church, Oakland, Cal.

"I give hearty endorsement to your proposals in regard to immigration, and I do so for three reasons: (1) for the safety of our country; (2) in justice to the people of all nations; and (3) to promote the peace of the world."

17. FRANCIS M. LARKIN

Editor California Christian Advocate, San Francisco, Cal.

"I am in receipt of your letter of recent date in reference to your proposal for the limitation of immigration. I take very great pleasure in endorsing the statement as presented by you. I am enclosing a copy of an editorial printed in the California Christian Advocate some time ago, any part of which you are at liberty to use."

18. REV. C. S. NASH

President Pacific Theological Seminary, Berkeley, Cal.

"I have previously considered your proposals sufficiently to decide that I heartily endorse them. I therefore am interested to do what you ask, add my signature to those of Bishop Hughes, Dr. Horace Day and others."

19. DAVID P. BARROWS

Dean of the Faculties, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

"I have given long and careful attention to your proposal that the United States immigration laws be so amended as to admit into the United States in any one year and from any one country only a small percentage of the people from that country who are already naturalized citizens of the United States.

"I believe your formula is a good one and that the considerations upon which it rests are sound and safe. As a nation I believe we are still appreciative of the strength that comes to us by immigration, but it is essential that these immigrants that come from so many countries and speak so many different languages should be thoroughly assimilated and incorporated into our body politic if they are to remain as permanent dwellers among us. Many things indicate, I believe, that we have not been assimilating foreign elements in recent years as

successfully as was formerly the case. We are probably past the point of saturation. Now obviously the most important force for the rapid introduction into American society and for the inculcation of the national spirit must be for any immigrant people that body of folk of the same race and tongue who are already citizens of this country. The absence of such a citizenship leaves any foreign people entering this country without the proper leaven to transform them into American citizens.

"I believe that your suggestion would be a particularly fortunate solution of the problem of immigration from Oriental countries where the process of assimilation is more difficult owing to racial differences. I should wish to see it applied here, and so as to allow the admission into this country annually of that small number of Chinese and Japanese who would represent a low fraction of the portion of these peoples who are already citizens of the United States. This would mean modifying our naturalization laws so as to make it possible for Japanese to become naturalized. (My own wish would be to see naturalization made possible at the same time for Filipinos.) I am in favor of this from the conviction that the number of Japanese who have permanently settled here and who would desire to become citizens of this country would be so small as in no way to interfere with American labor, would make good citizens and prove a valuable help in improving the relations between ourselves and the Empire of Japan. So would a body of Filipinos who are naturalized American citizens be of assistance to us in the delicate problem of continuing our relations with the Filipino people. My own observation makes me believe that a resident among us from another country is infinitely more valuable to us as a citizen than as an alien."

20. C. H. BENTLY

President California Fruit Canneries Association, San Francisco, Cal.

"It so happens that I am a member of a special committee on Japanese Relations, a committee appointed by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, and, as you know, this Committee has recommended to the Directors of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce that your plan be endorsed as a movement in the right direction.

"Your plan seems the most logical and effective that has come to my attention, as it seems to me that the limitation of immigration without discrimination might well be based on a percentage basis of those from that land already naturalized, together with their American born children.

"It seems wise that an annual registration fee should be levied on all aliens resident in America until they become citizens.

"The establishment of a Federal Bureau for the education of aliens in the English language and in the essentials of citizenship seems necessary, not only for the purpose of education and naturalization of aliens, but to avoid problems that have arisen in our schools where our children of tender years are more or less hindered in classes which contain aliens of mature years, and requiring somewhat different course of instruction.

"With the limitation placed on immigration, it would seem to be wise to establish naturalization laws, compelling a suitable course of education for citizenship, with the intent of giving this high privilege to all who qualify, regardless of their race."

21. REV. JOSIAH SIBLEY

Pastor First Presbyterian Church, San Francisco, Cal.

"I am much interested in your proposed suggestion with reference to limiting the foreign immigration to the United States. Manifestly our country has reached the place where there must be intelligent dealing with this problem. While having a great admiration for the unusual number of useful men and women who have come to this country from the various older countries, I think that beyond a doubt we cannot long hope to assimilate the great masses who have been coming to us each year for the past decade. It is very difficult to get any basis of adjustment that is not arbitrary.

"I think the suggestion of a certain proportion only each year relative to the number already in this country from various foreign nations is the practical way of getting at the matter."

22. REV. RAYMOND C. BROOKS

Pastor First Congregational Church, Berkeley, Cal.

"Your proposal to limit all immigration on a percentage basis, dealing equally with all races in the matter of admission, education and naturalization, seemed to me sound when I first heard you set it out, and further thought about it confirms that first judgment. I am very glad to sign the endorsement enclosed."

23. MELVIN A. BRANNON

President University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho.

"I thank you kindly for the papers which you have sent to me, "A Call for Comprehensive Immigration Legislation", "The American Japanese Prob-

lem", and "Asia's Appeal to America". I have read these with much interest, and am glad to say to you that your outline appeals to me thoroughly. You are happily prepared to present this complex question in its many relations in a lucid and convincing fashion. I hope that you will be able to secure legislation in accordance with the plans outlined."

24. STEPHEN B. L. PENROSE

President of Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash.

"I listened with great interest to your presentation of your plan for comprehensive immigration legislation, and had the further advantage of talking the matter over with you in detail. I was impressed by the practicality of the plan and by its fitness to solve the problem of Asiatic immigration in a way that would be satisfactory, I believe to the people of the Pacific Coast as well as to Asiatic nations across the sea. Your plan is simple in its process and workable as to practice. It will remove the question of immigration from the heated field of political discussion and will transfer it to a plane of enlightened and dispassionate inquiry. Because it promises to solve the problem of Asiatic immigration for the Western coast, I am especially anxious that it may be adopted by Congress and become the working plan of the United States. Congratulating you upon your clear and statesmanlike proposal, I am, with high regards."

25. The following letter was addressed to one of the California Representatives in Congress by an editorial writer on the staff of one of the important dailies of San Francisco. It seems better to give the name neither of the sender nor of the person to whom the letter was sent. Special permission was granted for its publication here.

"As one of your constituents I wish to protest against statements upon the Japanese question, especially in connection with the subject of armaments, which have been credited to you. I am convinced that there is a large and serious-minded group in this State who don't agree with your opinions as they have lately been set forth, nor with the somewhat unstatesmanlike phraseology in which they were expressed. I don't think that the 'Japanese Problem' on this coast is any more serious than the yellow newspaper problem, or the politician problem. California labor unions, as you probably know, have shown willingness to discuss the situa-

tion with representatives of Japanese labor, and have given a willing hearing to such suggestions as those of Dr. Sidney Gulick. The controversy is temporarily at least on a reasonable basis.

"Senators and Congressmen ought to be at least as reasonable. Probably you are familiar with Dr. Gulick's suggestion. He believes in limiting all immigration, without regard to race, to a fixed annual percentage of members of each nationality, or language group already domiciled in the country. If the percentage taken were five per cent., Dr. Gulick's plan would actually reduce the number of Japanese now legally admitted each year. The other half of his plan is that all immigrants lawfully admitted should be given equal rights to become citizens, to hold land, etc. This would eliminate every just cause of irritation which the Japanese have against us, and the thin stream of Oriental immigration which would result would not be a serious problem. I do not believe that Californians are so bigoted on this point as not to accept a solution so ready and so fair.

"In the 'World's Highway', page 272, Norman Angell says, after discussing the possibility of war between this country and Japan:

> "'On the morrow of most wars the discovery is made that if the nations had taken as much trouble with policy before the war began as they are obliged to take when it is over, it need never have taken place at all.'

"Won't you use your influence to formulate a policy **now** which will prevent friction with Japan? Won't you feel happier about your career in years to come if you can feel that you helped to prevent a useless war instead of helping to cause one?"

26. ENOCH A. BRYAN

Former President of the State College of Washington, Pullman, Wash.

"In reply to yours of February 8th, I have read with much interest the circular entitled, 'A Comprehensive Immigration Policy and Program'. Your novel suggestion at the time of your visit to this college has interested me much and while you suggest a purely conventional or assumed basis yet it appears to possess real merit. Our own state treats all aliens alike in the matter of ownership of real estate—that is it forbids it. That I think is well and Japan has not found the fault with us that she has with California. Nevertheless Europeans have the advantage of a possible citizenship which is practically impossible in the case of the Orientals. Far more important, to my mind, than the avoidance of economic competition on the Pacific Coast,

is the avoidance of laying the foundation of a racial problem. As a people we are friendly to the Orientals. We wish to cultivate this spirit not chiefly for economic gain but because such a spirit is helpful to all things which make national life worth while. But everywhere in all times the racial problems have been the basis of many evils to both or all races and we wish by every means to avoid the possibility of an Oriental race problem on this coast—and that for the sake of the alien race as well as our own. Nevertheless, the small fraction of prepared citizens from the Orient suggested by your method, on the face of it would appear to help us to avoid rather than establish a racial problem. You may have hit the right plan. Certainly many of your suggestions are good."

RESOLUTIONS OF ENDORSEMENT

Endorsement of the proposal for comprehensive immigration legislation, dealing equally with all races, has been expressed also in various resolutions.

A. An Endorsement used chiefly in California:

In view of the serious problems of unemployment and industrial unrest so widespread throughout the United States, which problems will unquestionably become still more serious after the European war is concluded, unless wisely and promptly provided for by Congressional legislation;

And in view of the need of removing from our laws such differential treatment of Asiatics as is regarded by them as humiliating, providing in this way for the maintenance of friendship between America and the nations of Japan and China;

We, the undersigned, after consideration of Dr. Gulick's proposals, herewith endorse their fundamental principles which provide for—

1. **The limitation of Immigration** from every land on a percentage basis of those from that land already naturalized together with their American born children;

2. The **Registration** of all aliens resident in America with the payment of an annual registration fee until they become citizens;

3. The establishment of a **Federal Bureau for the Education of Aliens** in the English language and in the essentials of citizenship;

4. Such changes in our **Naturalization** laws, that citizenship may be given to those only who qualify by passing through the required course of education and conversely that all who qualify shall be naturalized, regardless of their race.

We commend the above proposals to our fellow citizens of California and to our representatives in Congress.

These resolutions were signed by the following representative citizens of California, Oregon and Washington.

William Horace Day, First Congregational Church, Los Angeles, Cal.

James W. Francis, First Baptist Church, Los Angeles, Cal.

Matt L. Hughes, First M. E. Church, Pasadena, Cal.

George F. Bovard, President University of South Carolina, Los Angeles, Cal.

Robert Freeman, Pasadena Presbyterian Church, Pasadena, Cal.

Daniel F. Fox, First Congregational Church, Pasadena, Cal.

Warren H. Landon, President San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Francisco, Cal.

John Balcom Shaw (formerly of Pasadena, Cal.).

Edwin H. Hughes, Bishop M. E. Church, San Francisco, Cal.

H. H. Bell, Chairman Committee of One Hundred, San Francisco, Cal.

Herbert B. Johnson, Supt. Oriental Mission M. E. Church, San Francisco, Cal.

F. L. Goodspeed, First Presbyterian Church, Oakland, Cal.

C. S. Nash, President Pacific Theological Seminary, Berkeley, Cal.

E. L. Butler, 816 Mission Street, San Francisco, Cal.

Edward Berwick, Pacific Grove, Cal.

Raymond C. Brooks, First Congregational Church, Berkeley, Cal.

W. H. Hollis, Senator, 24th District, Ore.

C. J. Bushnell, President Pacific University, Forest Grove, Ore.

J. S. Bishop, M. D., Forest Grove, Ore.

H. L. Bates, Professor in Pacific University, Forest Grove, Ore.

R. E. Dunlop, Pastor M. E. Church, Forest Grove, Ore.

O. H. Holmes, Pastor Congregational Church, Forest Grove, Ore.

The Woman's Home Missionary Union of the State of Wash.

B. An Endorsement used in the State of Washington:

We, the undersigned, after consideration of Dr. Sidney L. Gulick's proposals in regard to Immigration, whose fundamental principles provide for:

1. The **Limitation of Immigration** from every land on a percentage basis of those from that land already naturalized together with their American born children;

2. The **Registration** of all aliens resident in America with the payment of an annual registration fee, until they become citizens;

3. The establishment of a **Federal Bureau for the Education of Aliens** in the English language and in the essentials of citizenship;

4. Such changes in our Naturalization laws, that citizenship may be given to those only who qualify by passing through the required course of education, and, conversely, that all who qualify shall be naturalized, regardless of their race.

Hereby commend the above Proposals to our fellow-citizens and to our legislators, for their careful study and earnest consideration.

(signed)

Frank Dyer, Pastor First Congregational Church, Tacoma, Wash.

Harry J. Dutton, Tacoma, Wash.

C. D. Savery, Court Reporter, Tacoma, Wash.

W. W. Seymour, Ex-Mayor, Tacoma, Wash.

John B. Kaiser, City Librarian, Tacoma, Wash.

Samuel B. Stocking, Tacoma Representative of Alaska-Pacific S. S. Co., Tacoma, Wash.

James A. Duncan, Secretary Labor Council, Seattle, Wash.

Hulet M. Wells, President Labor Council, Seattle, Wash.

E. B. Ault, Editor Union Record, Seattle, Wash.

Ida L. Levi, Reading Clerk, Seattle, Wash.

George P. Listman, Board of Control, Seattle, Wash.

O. F. Dozier, Business Agent, Seattle, Wash.

George F. Cotterill, Ex-Mayor, Seattle, Wash.

Alexander Myers, Committee on Immigration, Commercial Club, Seattle, Wash.

J. V. A. Smith, Assistant Cashier, N. W. Trust and Life Deposit Co., Seattle, Wash.

Rev. J. D. O. Powers, Pastor Unitarian Church, Seattle, Wash.

E. F. Blaine, (prominent business man), Seattle, Wash.

Sidney Strong, Pastor Queen Anne Congregational Church, Seattle, Wash.

William K. McKibbin, Secretary Committee on Unemployment and Secretary Anti-Tuberculosis League, Seattle, Wash.

C. G. Morrison, Executive Secretary, Municipal League, Seattle, Wash.

Otto N. Case, Secretary, Commercial Club, Seattle, Wash.

J. F. McCoy, Bellingham, Wash.

F. F. Nash, Bellingham, Wash.

J. C. McGregor, Bellingham, Wash.

J. M. Griffith, Bellingham, Wash.

J. N. Cone, Bellingham, Wash.

C. L. Linderman, Bellingham, Wash.

Warren Morse, Pastor First Congregational Church, Bellingham, Wash.

J. B. Kaylor, Bellingham, Wash.

L. C. Countryman (Merchant, Drygoods), Bellingham, Wash.

G. W. Nash, President State Normal School, Bellingham, Wash.

G. Thomas (Attorney, Firm Brown, Peringer & Thomas), Bellingham, Wash.

F. B. Culver, Pastor Evangelical Association, Bellingham, Wash.

Everett M. Hill, Pastor First M. E. Church, Bellingham, Wash.

C. Resolution of the Ministerial Federation of Seattle —November 15, 1915.

"We, the Ministerial Federation of Seattle, Washington, petition the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States to adopt an immigration policy based on the just and equitable treatment of all races; and also to so amend the Naturalization laws of the United States as to extend the privilege of naturalization to all aliens legally resident within the borders of the nation."

D. Faculty of the Washington State Normal School, Bellingham, Wash.

"You may be interested to know that at a meeting of the faculty held yesterday afternoon, the faculty endorsed your proposal to limit immigration. I shall see that a copy of the resolution is mailed to our representatives in Congress." (The resolution is that given on p. 25).

E. The Resolution Proposed by Mr. J. W. Mullen:

A resolution of some length was introduced by Mr. James W. Mullen into the San Francisco Labor Council (September 3, 1915), and was printed in full in the Labor Clarion September 15, 1915. It was referred to the Law and Legislative Committee. At an open meeting held by the Committee the proposals were discussed for three hours, where representatives of the "Anti-Jap Laundry League" opposed the resolution. The final decision of the Committee was to recommend no action. The nature of the preamble, as well as of the resolutions themselves, however, is such that they merit preservation. Their fate indicates fairly well the state of opinion among the leaders of Organized Labor in the State of California. While some are ready for the policy here endorsed, others are still unable to free themselves from the anti-Asiatic attitudes and policies of the past.

"Whereas, Unemployment has steadily been increasing year by year in seriousness and extent throughout the United States, involving millions of wage earners in crushing economic difficulties, interfering with much-needed adjustment of wages to the rising cost of living, and together with other factors causing nation-wide industrial unrest; and

"Whereas, This unemployment and unrest are intimately connected with the extraordinary immigration of recent years; and

"Whereas, President Wilson's veto of the literacy test immigration bill and the failure of Congress to pass the bill over his veto, make it imperative

"(a) That the coming Congress shall again grapple with the immigration problem, which without question is one of the most important as well as one of the most difficult of the many problems before the American people; and also

"(b) That a new bill shall be prepared which shall if possible unite all the groups which advocate limitation of immigration; and

"Whereas, The tragedy of Europe is producing an economic and industrial condition and a social and political situation that will in the not distant future bring to our land a vast increase in immigration, far beyond the highest figures of recent years; and

"Whereas, There is yet no adequate system for the supervision, distribution, employment and Americanization of immigrants, resulting inevitable in their settling in already congested sections of our large cities, increasing thereby the problem of city government, rendering more difficult their assimilation and exposing them to ruthless and ruinous exploitation; and

"Whereas, The coming of unrestricted and unregulated immigration cannot fail to plunge our country into still more serious difficulties of unemployment, industrial disorder and economic distress, affecting not only the newcomers but also all, both wage earners and others, however long they or their ancestors may have resided in America; and

"Whereas, The true prosperity of the United States requires

"(a) The economic welfare of wage earners through steady employment at suitable wages and under wholesome conditions;

"(b) The rapid and real assimilation to American life of all immigrants; and

"(c) The maintenance of real democracy in city, state and national governments; and

"Whereas, The awakening of Japan and China, their rapid acquisition of the instruments of modern

Occidental civilization and their development of national self-consciousness and sensitiveness to differential race legislation and treatment that is regarded as invidious and humiliating, introduce a new factor of unquestioned importance into our international relations and require of us an attitude toward and a treatment of those Asiatics in our midst which, while it fully protects our industrial workers and democratic institution by the rigid exclusion of Asiatic labor, shall also give them full justice and be in harmony with the spirit as well as with the technical wording of our treaties, cultivating thus the mutual friendship and goodwill of the nations on both sides of the Pacific; therefore be it

"Resolved, By the Labor Council of San Francisco that the time has come for the adoption by the United States of a comprehensive immigration policy, including the general limitation of all immigration and the registration, distribution, employment, education and naturalization of immigrants, in such a way as to conserve American institutions, protect American labor from dangerous economic competition and promote an intelligent and enduring friendliness among the peoples of all nations. Be it further

"Resolved, That this Council endorses the general principles embodied in the following proposals for a comprehensive immigration policy;

"1. That all immigration should be so restricted numerically,

"(a) That it may be accurately estimated in advance and properly cared for as it passes through our ports of entry;

"(b) That it may be promptly distributed and employed, and

"(c) That its coming may be so adjusted as to cause no serious economic embarrassment to the welfare of the wage earning class.

"2. That the true principle by which to limit immigration is by making immigration depend on the capacity of newcomers to learn the English language, assimilate themselves to the democratic ideals and institutions of America and become loyal citizens.

"3. That America should admit as immigrants from any land or race no more than she can Americanize and incorporate into her industrial and eco-

nomic system and body politic. The admissible number of newcomers from any land should depend closely on the number of those from that land who have already proved their capacity for assimilation by having become American citizens.

"4. That the maximum annual immigration from any land should be limited to a definite per cent (say five) of those from that land now resident in the United States,

"(a) Who have already become naturalized, and

"(b) Also their children who have become voting citizens.

"5. That after each census a new table of maximum admissible immigration should be reported to Congress by the Commissioner of Immigration, but the old table should remain in force until the new one is specifically authorized by Congress.

"6. That all aliens traveling or residing in the United States should be registered and should annually re-register until they either leave the country or become citizens, paying an annual fee of say ten dollars. For carrying out this provision a Federal Bureau of Registration should be established.

"7. That facilities should be provided for the rapid and adequate learning by aliens of the English language, the history of the American people and its democratic ideals, institutions and practices. For the carrying out of this provision a Federal Bureau of Alien Education should be established, which should set national standards, prepare text-books and hold examinations, the actual instruction to be entrusted, however, to the care of State and City educational authorities. It is desirable that the education should be voluntary and the examinations free. Also that the annual registration fee should be reduced, say by one dollar, for every examination passed.

"8. That the present educational standards for naturalization for citizenship are quite inadequate. These should be materially advanced and should be the standards provided for in the preceding section. Certificates of graduation from the Bureau of Education and of good behavior from the Bureau of Registration should be required for all candidates for naturalization.

"9. That the eligibility of aliens to American citizenship should be based entirely on the personal qualifications of candidates. The American Federation of Labor knows neither race nor creed in its advocacy of human rights and opportunity. It stands for the economic progress and political enfranchisement of all labor in the United States.

"Resolved, That the foregoing resolutions be passed up to the annual meeting of the California State Federation of Labor, with the request that they be endorsed and passed on to the annual meeting of the American Federation of Labor for adoption by the national organization."

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

1. The general relation of the Americans and Japanese in California is gradually improving. Although the Japanese, many of them, have still much to learn in adapting themselves to their American environment, they have already made no little progress. The good qualities of the Japanese are more generally recognized. In consequence of these facts the mutual personal treatment is growing better. Japanese assure me that stone-throwing has practically ceased. The ability of increasing numbers of Japanese to speak English is no doubt an important factor.

2. The number of Japanese who definitely desire to become American citizens was a matter of frequent inquiry. In spite of the common assertion by Americans that no Japanese would or could expatriate himself, I found it was not so. Both Japanese law and widespread popular opinion in Japan allow it, and not a few Japanese who have long resided in California, Oregon and Washington and plan to remain there permanently, desire the privilege. I found also many Americans who hold that, when duly qualified by adequate residence and education, Japanese would make excellent citizens.

3. Many representatives of organized labor were much more open-minded and ready to consider, and even to endorse my general proposals than I had been led to expect by those who professed to know the mind and spirit of these men. This is especially true when they learn that the proposed policy will not only prevent the coming of large immigration from Asia, but will also rigidly restrict immigration from any land not already largely represented by naturalized American citizens.

4. There is, however, opposition to the proposal by certain strong leaders of organized labor. It is based partly upon their comparative satisfaction with the effects of present Chinese exclusion laws and the 'Gentlemen's Agreement" with Japan, partly upon their failure to see need in our international relations for any change in our methods of dealing with Asiatics, and partly upon their belief that Asiatics, because they are Asiatic, are inherently incapable of ever entering wholesomely into our democratic government, social institutions or economic and industrial

life. They fail, however, to see that the proposed policy provides more acceptibly for the whole problem than does the present policy and method.

5. The "New Oriental Policy," when understood, meets with the approval apparently of about eight or nine out of ten of the responsible citizenship of the Pacific Coast with whom I have met.

6. In spite, however, of considerable hearty approval of the proposed New Oriental Policy, I found surprising hesitancy on the part of responsible groups to endorse and advocate the matter in any public way. It can not be said that the people of California as a whole have yet heard or considered it. For this hearing it will doubtless be necessary that some strong group or political leader shall espouse the cause and secure for it wide backing.

This no doubt will come in time as the New Orient becomes more familiar to our people and the need becomes more manifest of recognizing in our Oriental policy the new character and the awakening life of the Far East.